

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 /083 W

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O R 271210Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2460

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

COPENHAGEN 2165

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ROME

, USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3458

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FLANK SECURITY: SPC MEETING, JUNE 26

REF: A. USNATO 2553 DTG 071910Z MAY 75

B. USNATO 3190 DTG 101255Z JUNE 75

SUMMARY: SPC ON NUNE 26 AGREED AD REFERENDUM TO DRAFT GUIDANCE TO AHG  
ON FLANK SECURITY, WHICH NCORPORATES CERTAIN MINOR CHANGES, INRESPONS  
E

TO PROPOSALS TO TURKISH REP. NAC APPROVED ON JUNE 26

SILENCE PROCEDURE FOR FINAL NAC APPROVAL, WITH JULY 3

DEADLINE FOR OBJECTIONS. MISSION RECOMMENDS U.S. AGREEMENT

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TO THESE CHANGES AND AUTHORIZATION BY JULY 2 TO APPROVE  
THE DRAFT GUIDANCE IN THE NAC. END SUMMARY.

1. SPC ON JUNE 26 AGRED AD REFERENDUM TO DRAFT GUIDANCE

TO THE AHG ON FLANK SECURITY. NAC ON JUNE 27 DECIDED TO INVOKE THE SILENCE PROCEDURE FOR FINAL NAC APPROVAL, WITH DEADLINE FOR OBJECTION AS CLOSE OF BUSINESS JULY 3. UK REP (BAILES) SUGGESTED LATTER PROCEDURE AT JUNE 26 SPC SINCE JUNE 27 NAC WAS TOO SOON FOR FINAL NAC CONSIDERATION, AND THE NEXT NAC MEETING IS JULY 9, WHICH MIGHT BE TOO LATE FOR AHG TO USE THE GUIDANCE DURING THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND IN VIENNA.

2. THE DRAFT GUIDANCE AS IT EMERGED FROM JUNE 26 SPC IS IDENTICAL TO THE TEXT IN REF A, WITH THE FOLLOWING EXCEPTIONS. IN THE FORMULATION PART OF THE DRAFT GUIDANCE, THE SPC AGREED TO THE WORD "CIRCUMVENT" INSTEAD OF "FRUSTRATE". HOWEVER, THE WORD "FRUSTRATE" HAS A FOOTNOTE AS FOLLOWS: "ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MAY DRAW, TO CLARIFY THIS EXPRESSION, ON PARA 3 A BELOW" SPC APPROVED FIRST BRACKETED PHRASE IN PARA D. THE OLD PARA 3 E IS MOVED UP AHEAD OF THE OTHER SUB-PARAGRAPHS IN SECTION III OF THE GUIDANCE, BECOMING PARA 3A, AND CHANGING THE PARAGRAPH NUMBERS CORRESPONDINGLY. THE REVISED VERSION OF THAT PARA (AS CONTAINED IN PARA 2, REF B) IS FURTHER AMENDED, BY REPLACING THE SECOND PHRASE BY THE FOLLOWING: "IN ADDITION TO THESE PARTICULAR NON-CIRCUMVENTION ASPECTS RELATED TO FLANK SECURITY". THIS PARA HAS THE FOOTNOTE REQUESTED BY THE U.S. WHICH STATES: "FOR INTERNAL INFORMATION OF THE AHG: WHETHER A GENERAL NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION, AS OPPOSED TO ONE OR MORE SPECIFIC NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSES, IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED." THE ENTIRE TEXT IS REPRODUCED AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE.

3. SPC AGREEMENT ON FLANK SECURITY HAD BEEN HELD UP FOR OVER A MONTH BY TURKISH INABILITY TO ACCEPT THE WORD "FRUSTRATE" INSTEAD OF "CIRCUMVENT". AT JUNE 26 SPC MEETING, TURKISH REP (GUR) SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE WORD "FRUSTRATE" IF CERTAIN OTHER CHANGES WERE MADE IN THE DRAFT GUIDANCE. HE WANTED TO MOVE THE OLD PARA 3 E AHEAD OF THE OTHER PARAGRAPHS IN SECTION III, AND TO REVISE THAT PARA AS DESCRIBED ABOVE.

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HOWEVER, ANKARA ALSO WANTED A FOOTNOTE TO THE WORD "FRUSTRATE" AUTHORIZING THE AHG TO EXPLAIN TO THE EAST, IF ASKED, THAT "FRUSTRATE" MEANT "CIRCUMVENT".

4. DANISH REP (VILLADSEN) SAID THAT PART OF THE GUIDANCE HAD BEEN VERY CAREFULLY NEGOTIATED, AND THAT "THE REACTION OF THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES WAS CLOSE TO OBSTRUCTION." TURKISH REP WELCOMED DANISH REMARKS, AND THOUGHT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD CONSIDER THESE REMARKS CAREFULLY, COMING AS THEY DID FROM ANOTHER FLANK COUNTRY. FRG REP (HOYNCK) SAID THAT CURRENT SPC WORK ON FLANK SECURITY HAD BEGUN BECAUSE TURKEY WANTED EARLY GUIDANCE ON FLANK SECURITY. HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND, AFTER ALL THE DISCUSSION ON "FRUSTRATE", WHY TURKEY HAD PROPOSED THIS FOOTNOTE. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THE SPC

WAS NEARING THE LIMIT OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER.

5. UK REP PROPOSED, INSTEAD OF THIS TURKISH FOOTNOTE, THE FOOTNOTE TO "FRUSTRATE" DESCRIBED IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

SPC, INCLUDING THE TURKISH REP, APPROVED AD REFERENDUM THE DRAFT GUIDANCE WITH THE AMENDMENTS AND FOOTNOTES DESCRIBED IN PARA 2 ABOVE. ACTING CHAIRMAN (KILLHAM) POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS NO NAC MEETING BETWEEN THE JUNE 27 AND JULY 9 MEETINGS TO GIVE FINAL CONSIDERATION TO THIS DRAFT GUIDANCE. BELGIAN REP (WILLOT) SAID THAT JULY 9 MIGHT BE TOO LATE FOR AHG TO PREPARE SOMETHING FOR USE WITH THE EAST DURING THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING ROUND. TURKISH REP SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEEK APPROVAL BY HIS AUTHORITIES AT JUNE 27 NAC MEETING.

US REP (MOORE) THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE TOO SOON. UK REP SUGGESTED THAT NAC INVOKE SILENCE PROCEDURE FOR ITS FINAL APPROVAL OF THIS DRAFT GUIDANCE. SPC CONSIDERED CLOSE OF BUSINESS JULY 3 A REASONABLE DEADLINE FOR OBJECTIONS. SYG AT JUNE 27 NAC PROPOSED INVOKING SILENCE PROCEDURE FOR APPROVAL OF THIS GUIDANCE, WITH A JULY 3 DEADLINE AND THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS.

6. COMMENT. NAC APPROVAL OF GUIDANCE ON FLANK SECURITY WILL COMPLETE ONE OF THE LONGEST AND MOST DIFFICULT SPC EXERCISES IN DRAFTING GUIDANCE TO THE AHG. THIS GUIDANCE ACHIEVES THE U.S. OBJECTIVE OF NOT DEFINING THE DEO-SECRET

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GRAPHIC REGIONS WHERE DEPLOYMENT OF WITHDRAWN FORCES WOULD DIMINISH DESECURITY. THE SPC WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO RETURN TO THIS QUESTION. HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT THE GUIDANCE REQUESTS THE AHG TO IDENTIFY THE FORMULATION AS "THE ALLIED POSITION" ON FLANK SECURITY PREJUDICES THE FINAL ALLIED DECISION AGAINST DEFINING THESE REGIONS (IN THE CASE OF THE FLANKS), AND AVOIDS ANY IMPLICATION TO THE EAST THAT SOMETHING MORE SPECIFIC ON GEOGRAPHIC AREAS IS IN THE OFFING. THIS GUIDANCE ALSO PUTS BEHIND US AN ISSUE WHICH AT VARIOUS TIMES THREATENED TO BECOME AN IRRITANT IN U.S.-TURKISH BILATERAL RELATIONS. IT ALSO PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY THAT TURKEY WOULD ATTEMPT TO BLOCK AGREEMENT ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S., SUCH AS OPTION III, IN ORDER TO GET NAC GUIDANCE TO AHG ON FLANK SECURITY.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION BY JULY 2 TO ACCEPT THE CHANGES IN PARA 2 ABOVE, WHICH DO NOT SUBSTANTIVELY MODIFY PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF SPC DRAFT GUIDANCE WHICH U.S. FOUND ACCEPTABLE, AND TO APPROVE THE DRAFT GUIDANCE IN THE NAC.

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ACTION ACDA-10

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ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 /083 W

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O R 271210Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2461

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY ROME

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3458

8. BEGIN TEXT:

MBFR: FLANK SECURITY

I. INTRODUCTION

PARAGRAPH 30 OF C-M(73)83(FINAL) REFLECTS THE  
PREOCCUPATION OF THE ALLIANCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD  
USE THE TERRITORIES ADJACENT TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OR  
THOSE ADJACENT TO NATO'S FLANK COUNTRIES FOR A BUILD-UP OF  
ITS FORCES IN THE POST-MBFR PERIOD. ALTHOUGH THE MBFR WORKING  
GROUP HAS CONCLUDED THAT RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF THE CON-  
STRAINTS ENVISAGED IN PARAGRAPH 30, WITH ONE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION,  
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WOULD BE INTOLERABLE FOR NATO'S DEFENCE POSTURE AND FLEXI-  
BILITY (1), THE ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE BASIC  
CONCERNS REFLECTED IN PARAGRAPH 30 ARE LEGITIMATE AND MUST BE  
ADEQUATELY MET.

II. AGREEMENT PROVISION

2. THE ALLIANCE FAVOURS THE INCLUSION IN THE FIRST PHASE MBFR AGREEMENT OF A PROVISION ON FLANK SECURITY. THE COUNCIL INTENDS, AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, TO APPROVE THE TREATY-LANGUAGE TEXT OF SUCH A PROVISION FOR PRESENTATION TO THE WARSAW PACT. IT IS ENVISAGED THAT THE TEXT WOULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR THE AD HOC GROUP'S INTERIM USE AS SET OUT IN SECTION III, BELOW:

THE US AND USSR UNDERTAKE TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION (E.G. REDEPLOYMENT OF FORCES) INFRINGING UPON EITHER THE SPIRIT OR THE LETTER OF THIS AGREEMENT. FORCES WITHDRAWN ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE REDEPLOYED IN GEOPHICAL REGIONS (2) WHERE THEIR ADDED PRESENCE WOULD

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BEGIN FOOTNOTES

(1) REFERENCE IS MADE TO AC/276-D(74)2.

(2) FOR INTERNAL INFORMATION OF AD HOC GROUP:

THE QUESTION STILL REMAINS TO BE SETTLED BY THE ALLIES WHETHER OR NOT THESE GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS SHOULD BE DEFINED AND, IF DEFINED, WHAT THEY SHOULD BE. END FOOTNOTES  
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INFRINGE UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THOSE COUNTRIES HAVING PARTICIPATED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPECIAL STATUS OR WHERE REDUCED DEPLOYMENT OF THOSE FORCES WOULD FRUSTRATE (1) THE OBJECTIVE PURSUED IN THIS AGREEMENT OF ENHANCING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE (2).

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BEGIN FOOTNOTES

(1) NEGOTIATORS MAY DRAW, TO CLARIFY THIS EXPRESSION, ON PARA 3  
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A BELOW.

(2) FOR INTERNAL INFORMATION OF AD HOC GROUP: SOME DELEGATIONS BELIEVE THAT THE FINAL AGREEMENT PROVISION WOULD PRESUMABLY BE OF SUCH A GENERAL NATURE THAT IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE FOR A CONSULTATION PROCEDURE. THEREFORE, ONE DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE AGREEMENT PROVISION BE COMPLEMENTED BY A CLAUSE TO THE EFFECT THAT:

IF AT ANY TIME PROBLEMS SHOULD ARISE CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THIS PROVISION OR RELATED QUESTIONS, THE PARTIES SHALL ENTER INTO URGENT CONSULTATIONS SO AS TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEM AND TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVERT ANY POSSIBLE RISK FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. THE SAME DELEGATION POINTS OUT THAT A "RELATED QUESTION" COULD

BE THE REDEPLOYMENT OF OTHER THAN WITHDRAWN FORCES INTO AREAS  
OF CONCERN TO NATO.  
END FOOTNOTES.

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III. ACTION REQUESTED OF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS

3. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD:

(A) MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE WARSAW PACT THAT, IN ADDITION TO  
THESE PARTICULAR NON-CIRCUMVENTION ASPECTS RELATED TO FLANK SECURITY,  
THE ALLIES WILL MAKE SPECIFIC AND COMPREHENSIVE  
PROPOSALS IN DUE COURSE TO MEET THE OTHER MORE  
GENERAL NON-CIRCUMVENTION CONCERNS OF ALL WESTERN  
PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS(1).

(B) CONTINUE VIGOROUSLY TO SET OUT ALLIED CONCERNS ON  
FLANK SECURITY. THIS COULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF  
STRENGTHENING THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION AND  
INCREASING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WARSAW PACT  
WILL AGREE TO THE TREATY PROVISION WHICH THE  
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ALLIANCE WILL IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE.

(C) CONTINUE TO SOUND OUT THE WARSAW PACT REPRESENTA-  
TIVES AS TO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS  
TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF THE SPECIAL STATUS  
PARTICIPANTS.

(D) TELL THE WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES THAT THE ALLIES  
FAVOUR THE INCLUSION IN THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT OF  
A TREATY PROVISION TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF PARTICI-  
PANTS HAVING A SPECIAL STATUS.

-----  
BEGIN FOOTNOTES

(1) FOR INTERNAL INFORMATION OF AD HOC GROUP:  
WHETHER A GENERAL NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION, AS OPPOSED  
TO ONE OR MORE SPECIFIC NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSES, IS IN  
THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED.  
END FOOTNOTES  
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(E) AT A TIME WHICH THE AD HOC GROUP DEEMS APPROPRIATE,  
CONVEY TO THE WARSAW PACT THE FORMULATION IN  
SECTION II ABOVE, IDENTIFYING IT AS THE "ALLIED  
POSITION" ON FLANK SECURITY BUT EXPLAINING THAT  
IT IS NOT YET IN THE FORM OF AN AGREEMENT PROVISION;  
TELL THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES THAT THE ALLIES WILL

IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE TO THEM THE TREATY-LANGUAGE  
TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT PROVISION AS DESCRIBED IN (D)  
ABOVE, AND THAT SAID TEXT WILL BE BASED UPON THE  
"ALLIED POSITION".  
END TEXT  
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**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO ANKARA  
ATHENS  
BONN  
COPENHAGEN  
LONDON



OSLO  
MBFR VIENNA  
ROME  
, USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

**Type:** TE

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